841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[789] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg. They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth, beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines, that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos. The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⴻⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well received.

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the prescribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water at their disposal. They are content with "ta'lmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" , on their skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They

4: Benhazera--51 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now, " and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and superstitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water-skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /ⵍⵃⵉⵏⴻⵏ/, /60/ or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵍⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of Sabenas.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of Amenokal.

Elkarebi, the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Rali, who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

Ouanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

Agg Elkher, of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerhar, who was the son of Rali.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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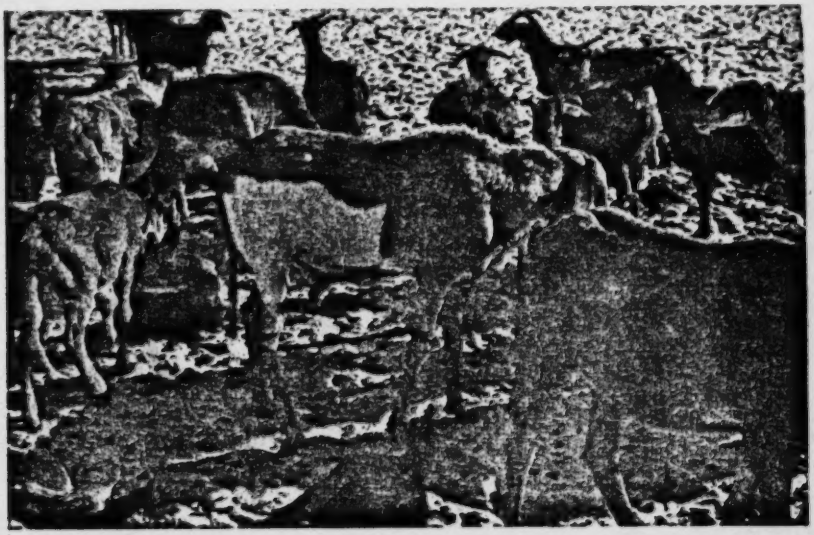

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*aγaa*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amakas*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terurit* tribe.

435 282 237 825 the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also considered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.

234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aǧiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isən*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food

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[874]
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[Text continues on p. 231]

Fig. 164. Pail (*ábr*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ázegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téfirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*érir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *érir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnewen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Iguadéyaren* tribe.

4/2 *Horratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

252 **Bread** is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenukal, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

Mokhammed Aman, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

Elkarebi, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

Bubeker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

Rali, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Rali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. 634 On *Rali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Rali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Rali*.

Wasarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afous, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

Kutiya, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Rali*'s younger brother.

Agg-Elkhir, of pure noble origin being the son of *Rali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

Azeyor, who was the son of *Rali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

Bukha, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeyor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Rali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came